

Message Text

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ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

66011

DRAFTED BY: S/S-O:LMATTESON

APPROVED BY: S/S-O:LMATTESON

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O 270254Z DEC 75 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USLO PEKING IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 303469

NODIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT GEORGETOWN 2196 ACTION SECSTATE DTD 26 DEC

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S E C R E T GEORGETOWN 2196

NODIS

DEPT PLS PASS USLO PEKING

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR MOPS CU GY AO

SUBJ: CUBAN MILITARY INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA: GUYANA TRANSIT
FACILITIES

REFS: A. STATE 302692; B. GEORGETOWN 2195 (NOTAL); C. STATE 303329

1. I DELIVERED SECRETARY KISSINGER'S MESSAGE TO PRIME
MINISTER BURNHAM AT HIS COUNTRY RESIDENCE AT 1600
DEC 26. FONMIN WILLS, THROUGH WHOM I ARRANGED APPOINTMENT,
ALSO PRESENT, CONVERSATION LASTED 90 MINUTES,
ATMOSPHERE FRIENDLY BUT MARKED BY CONSTANT NEEDLING
OF USG POLICIES BY BURNHAM.

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2. IN RESPONSE TO SECRETARY'S APPEAL REGARDING TRANSSIT FACILITIES, BURNHAM AUTHORIZED ME TO CONVEY FOLLOWING TO SECRETARY:

A. NO RPT NO CUBAN FLIGHTS OF NATURE DESCRIBED IN SECRETARY'S MESSAGE (FIRST PARA) HAVE PASSED THROUGH GUYANA.

B. CUBA HAS MADE NO RPT NO REQUEST FOR FACILITIES FOR SUCH FLIGHTS (HE ACKNOWLEDGED EXISTENCE OF CIVIL AVIATION AGREEMENT).

C. JUST AS USG IS DECRYING INTERVENTION BY CUBA AND SOVIET UNION IN ANGOLA, AND WITH GREATER EMOTIONAL INTENSITY, GUYANA PROTESTS SOUTH AFRICAN INTERVENTION AND IS UNABLE TO ACCEPT FAILURE OF USG TO SINGLE OUT SOUTH AFRICA INTERVENTION PUBLICLY.

D. WHEN I ASKED BURNHAM WHAT GOG WOULD DO IF CUBANS DID REQUEST FACILITIES, HE PRETENDED AT FIRST TO TAKE OFFENSE AT IMPLIED DEROGATION OF SOVEREIGNTY BUT CONCEDED IN END THAT HE WAS UNPREPARED TO MAKE ADVANCE COMMITMENT.

3. OUR CONVERSATION COVERED A WIDE RANGE OF TOPICS ONCE WE HAD DISPOSED OF IMMEDIATE QUESTION, BUT TIME AND AGAIN BOTH BURNHAM AND WILLS REVERTED TO CRITICISM OF USG ATTITUDES AND INACTIVITY ON AFRICAN LIBERATION. OUR TRIPLE VETO (WITH UK AND FRANCE) ON SOUTH AFRICAN RESOLUTION FA UNSC, OUR POLICY ON RHODESIAN CHROME, OUR PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA, OUR ARMS ALES TO SOUTH AFRICA, FIGURED AMONG EXAMPLES THEY CITED AS SHOWING OUR HEARTS WERE REALLY WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS AND WE STILL DON'T GIVE A FIG FOR OPPRESSED BLACKS IN AFRICA. WILLS WAS ESPECIALLY OFFENDED AT SOUTH AFRICAN USE OF UN TRUSTEESHIP TERRITORY OF NAMIBIA FOR STAGING. I ATTEMPTED AS BEST I COULD TO PUT EACH OF THE ISSUES INTO PERSPECTIVE AND TO INDICATE WE WOULD BE GREATLY RELIEVED IF SOUTH AFRICANS WOULD GO HOME. BUT THE THEME SONG COULD NOT BE TURNED OFF: SOUTH AFRICA IS THE REAL BAD ACTOR; YOU'VE GOT TO HELP US PUT AN END TO WHITE OPPRESSION AND MINORITY RULE IN SOUTH AFRICA BEFORE YOU CAN EXPECT US TO PAY ATTENTION TO YOUR STRUCTURES ON SOVIET AND CUBAN INVOLVEMENT.

4. USG INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA, AS SEEN IN NEWS REPORTS OF \$50
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MILLION ARMS ASSISTANCE TO ZAIRE, PLUS RECENT ALLEGATIONS THAT AMERICANS ARE PILOTING SPOTTER PLANES OVER ANGOLA WAS ANOTHER TARGET OF BURNHAM'S NEEDLE. HE ASKED HOW WE COULD OBJECT TO SOVIET/CUBAN INVOLVEMENT WHEN WE WERE ALSO, THOUGH ADMITTEDLY INDIRECTLY, INVOLVED. HE EVEN ASKED RHETORICALLY AT ONE POINT IF U.S. WOULD CUT OFF ASSISTANCE TO FNLA/UNITA IF HE GUARANTEED NOT TO ALLOW CUBAN MILITARY AIRLIFT TO TRANSIT GUYANA.

5. COMMENT: BURNHAM WAS OBVIOUSLY ON DEFENSIVE,
BUT HE CHOOSE A FAIRLY GOOD OFFENSIVE TACTIC TO PUT OFF OUR APPEAL.
I BELIEVE BURNHAM HOPES TO AVOID BECOMING INVOLVED IN THIS
PARTICULAR ISSUE, AT LEAST UNTIL AFTER HE SEES WHAT TRANSPIRES
AT OAU SUMMIT MEETING JAN 10-11. (IN FACT HE MENTIONED
SPECIFICALLY GOG POLICY REMAINED TIED TO OAU CONSENSUS.) I IMAGINE
HE HOPES BY THAT TIME A CLEAR CONSENSUS WILL EMERGE IN FAVOR OF
MPLA AND HE CAN THEN ALLOW CUBAN FLIGHTS TO TRANSIT WITHOUT
QUALMS OF CONSCIENCE. KREBS UNQTE SISCO

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: INTERVENTION, POLICIES, CAT-C, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, MILITARY AIRLIFTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 27 DEC 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ElyME
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975STATE303469
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: O:LMATTESON
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: N750006-0645
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 2
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19751211/aaaaaivk.tel
Line Count: 125
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: 75 STATE 302692, 75 GEORGETOWN 2195
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ElyME
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09 JUL 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <09 JUL 2003 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <14 NOV 2003 by ElyME>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: LOCK1
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CUBAN MILITARY INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA: GUYANA TRANSIT FACILITIES
TAGS: PFOR, MOPS, CU, GY, AO, SA, (WILLS, FRED), (BURNHAM, L F S)
To: PEKING
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006